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UNITED NATIONS

Anti-colonial rebellion stirs UN; French crisis may affect Geneva parley

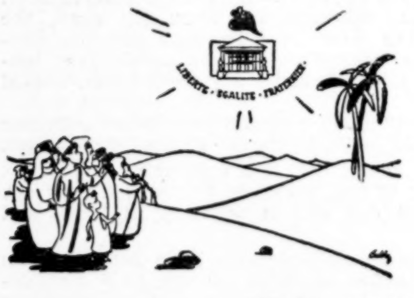
By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

REPRESENTATIVES of the Arab-Asian nations last week succeeded in persuading the UN General Assembly to reverse its Steering Committee and place the question of Algeria on the agenda of its tenth session. In protest, French delegates walked out and France subsequently withdrew its permanent UN delegation. Even though the withdrawal is likely to prove temporary, the French walkout will inevitably poison the post-Geneva atmosphere.

Immediate results included a French Cabinet decision to postpone indefinitely the Moscow visit of its Premier and Foreign Minister, which is a setback to the U. S. S. R.'s campaign to establish closer relations with western countries. And the possible fall of Premier Faure's government (if it occurs, it will be due to the North African crisis rather than the UN vote) raises the question whether the October Conference of Big Four foreign ministers will not itself be postponed.

PROPHET OF DOOM: The 28-27 vote, with five abstentions, by which the Assembly for the first time in UN history overrode its Steering Committee came at the end of a long tense afternoon session featured by an impassioned address by Belgium's Paul Henri Spaak, among the ablest spokesmen of western imperialism. Spaak, with many a sneer at the Bandung nations (he held them guilty of "excessive nationalism," "vehement language," "international demogogery," called their tone "profoundly shocking") prophesied UN's doom if the Assembly took a stand on colonial issues which involved interference with the "internal affairs" of the colonial powers.



Franc-Tireur, Paris

North African mirage

But Spaak was unable to stem the anti-colonial tide—chiefly, perhaps, because of the factual logic and calm moderation of the reply made by India's Krishna Menon. Menon pointed out that the Arab-Asian nations proposed only discussion of the Algerian question in the hope of facilitating conciliation, emphasizing that

> "there are no draft resolutions . . . no proposals in regard either to condemnation of French policy or in support of Algerian independence . . . no draft resolution which calls for the UN to take any action by way of intervention or to call upon the French government to submit to UN authority in the matter."

NEW STRENGTH: The anti-colonial victory clearly reflected the strengthening of the Arab-Asian group as a result of last spring's Bandung conference. And this group won new support. Voting with it, in addition to the socialist countries and Yugoslavia, were six Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Uruguay) and a NATO member, Greece. Another NATO member, Iceland, abstained.

Forgive us

Please overlook any typographical errors in this issue; we went to press just as the Dodgers were winning the World Serious.

The anti-colonial countries scored another victory when the Assembly voted by a still larger margin—with ten abstentions—to place the West Irian (West New Guinea) question on the agenda. Once again the Latin

(Continued on Page 3)

Get well soon, Ike

Or these gobble-uns 'll git us . . .

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN WASHINGTON

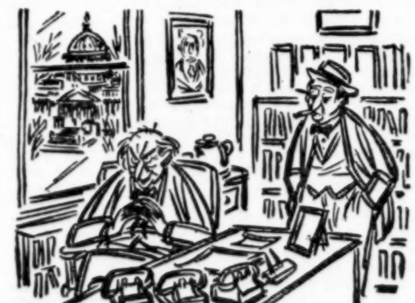
How Dicky Nixon got put in his place

By Elmer Bendiner

WITH THE FIRST WORD of the President's heart trouble, politicians began what "observers of the Soviet scene" used to refer to as "an internal struggle for power" or a "battle for succession." It was the most furious dagger-dance Washington had seen in decades.

In the early hours of the President's illness a desperate effort was launched to fit Vice-President Nixon with the Eisenhower mantle before the President was ready to take it off. N. Y. **Daily News** columnist John O'Donnell (9/26) flatly predicted that the Attornel General's office would swiftly rule that the President could not delegate his authority to anyone, would have to resign and yield the office outright to Nixon. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune's** Roscoe Drummond described Nixon as "acting President" and **U. S. News and World Report's** David Lawrence took up the Nixon standard—all before the President was in bed for 24 hours.

FAST SWITCH: On Sept. 26, two days after the President was stricken, the columnists' yells for Nixon had sparked the word that his accession would wait only on the return of Atty. Gen. Brownell, who was vacationing in Spain when the crisis hit. By the time Brownell returned to Washington Wednesday morning the Nixon coup was nipped. The "Florentine dagger" seemed to have been transferred to Richard Nixon's ribs.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"As publicity manager, your job is to spread rumors that I may be named a presidential candidate in '56 . . . and build up suspense as to whether or not I will run . . ."

Brownell chilled the Nixon-ites as soon as he landed by telling newsmen questioning him on the delegation of powers:

> "I don't know that it will be necessary to deliver a legal opinion."

He hammered home the point at lunch time. Instead of waiting on the "acting President" in his office, Brownell, Treasury Secy. Humphrey and Presidential Asst. Sherman Adams invited Nixon to join them in Humphrey's office. In the afternoon Nixon was allowed to sign one document "in behalf of the President": a message of greeting to the Society of Mayflower Descendants, meeting in London. That was the crest of the Nixon boom.

TOUGH OPPOSITION: The Nixon faction, almost abandoning hope of crown-

(Caontinued on Page 8)

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM PARIS

Mississippi and Algeria Meet

WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS and sufferings that have piled up for themselves through the years of betrayal from within, the people of Paris still have a heart as big as the world. In recent memory their tradition of international social responsibility was magnificently roused by the Rosenberg case.

Last month the lynching of Emmett Till in Mississippi roused it again. Nobody would have known it from reading the Paris **Herald Tribune** (or, presumably, the press in the U. S. itself); but within 48 hours of the "not guilty" verdict on Till's murderers, a protest meeting was held here and a small battalion of police had to be summoned to control the thousands who were physically unable to jam themselves into the hall. There were so many speakers (including a Paris pastor, a senator from French Equatorial Africa, and the Socialist former minister Daniel Mayer) that they could hardly find room on the stage around chairman Josephine Baker. A crowd of Parisians who couldn't get in set up a meeting of their own in a nearby cafe.

EMBARRASSINGLY SPONTANEOUS: Yet not a single ad for the meeting—only a press release at the week-end—had been placed by the Intl. League Against Racism & Anti-Semitism, a non-political organization bearing on its letterhead a galaxy of names from ex-President Auriol to Charlie Chaplin, from Mexico's Cardenas to Eleanor Roosevelt, from Sartre to Silone, from Robeson to Richard Wright.

What is so embarrassing to the U. S. Embassy—

(Continued on Page 3)

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Let's go, team!

If your address-plate reads Oct. '55 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal. To renew for 1 year mail address-plate with $3. Do it today.

- **Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose remittance, mail to:**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

. . . if people fail to act

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Not long after President Roosevelt's death at a very crucial stage of world affairs, when the end of the second world war was happening, his successor began reversing the chief aims of FDR's foreign policy from one of strengthening the unity for peace to one of building a heavily armed bloc of powers as a hostile barrier to the Soviet Union.

Now we face the likelihood of a sharp reversal of the Geneva spirit for better relations, for which much credit is being given to President Eisenhower here and abroad. Just a short time before a new meeting of foreign ministers in Geneva takes place, his illness opens wide the gate for bedlam to break loose with a furious scramble by warmongers to seize control of the foreign policy of the United States.

Men like Nixon, Dulles, Radford and a few others are in line to do incalculable harm if the people fail to act and speak for an end, once and for all, of the war-like policies of the past nine years.

A. Garcia Diaz

Birdie

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I say Benny Hogan for President. Let's get our best golfer.

Leo McCann

Plight of farmers

BERGEN, N. D.

We small and middle farmers are in an economic crisis; Eisenhower calls it stability in agriculture. Farm sales are numerous and mamachinery (used) brings very little. For instance, a tractor costing $3,800 new sells for $460. The big farmers buy off the best items and gobble up the land. This is a bonanza for them. We are getting our private enterprise medicine in big doses now. Our false farm leaders are bemoaning the plight of the farmers while at the same time are supporting the cold war which is largely responsible for our crisis. Newspapers refuse to print our side of the story.

I've just finished reading **Political Prairie Fire**, by Robert Morlan. It is a story of the Non-Partisan League from 1915-1922. It tells how the farmers and workers met the obstacles that big business placed before them during those years. It is especially valuable to us here in North Dakota.

I agree with Tabitha Petran in her analysis of the Myth of Perpetual Prosperity.

Keep our GUARDIAN going, it is the salt of the earth.

Wm. Moxness

For more on the farmers' plight, see Lawrence Emery, p. 5. Ed.

Mrs. de Silva's addition

NEW YORK, N. Y.

May I add the following to the account of my case against Trans World Airlines that appeared in the Oct. 3 GUARDIAN?

The chief defense of TWA appears to be that the airline was obliged to carry out the orders of the Ceylonese Government and the U. S. Embassy in Ceylon. This is stated in the answer to the complaint; the enthusiasm of the U. S. Government for getting me out of Ceylon and back to the U. S. was argued with considerable passion, off the record, before a motions court. I was apparently **persona non grata** to the U. S. Government—**in Ceylon**, where I was working, along with my husband, amongst the Ceylonese people.

The Nuremberg trials established, as settled international law, that those who commit reprehensible and ugly acts cannot be relieved of responsibility because they are "carrying out orders of superiors." Further, the insistence by the TWA, in its own defense, that U. S. Government orders were involved—as I have maintained from the beginninfi—is a significant one.

The State Dept. has maintained a frigid silence on the de Silva case, broken only occasionally with cautiously-phrased letters to interested individuals and organizations who have directed inquiries to the President and Secy. Dulles. In those instances the State Dept. has claimed that it merely performed the humanitarian task of "providing" me with a passport to return to the U. S.

Actually, this assertion—in writing—is false. I possesesd no passport or other travel document when I was deposited at Idlewild Airport on March 19, 1954. TWA employes had stated, during the two-day flight from Ceylon, that they had in their custody a "five-day passport for repatriation only." [In the legal papers submitted by TWA the "five-days" has shrunk to "three-days"].

I would like to thank the GUARDIAN for breaking the curtain of silence that has surrounded this case. The advertising dollar speaks in the big press—there is no doubt about it.

Rhoda Miller de Silva

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In these days of loyalty-security checks in Washington, the remarks of a certain well-known capital lady may be a sign of our times.

She strongly disapproves of the present political climate, but refuses, at social gatherings, to be drawn into partisan discussions. Her friends chided her for her silence, but she explained: "This is a free country. I can be afraid to talk if I want to."

—Readers Digest, Oct., 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Walter Gerstel, Berkeley, Calif.

Heartfelt thanks

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Now that the summer is officially over, we wish to extend to the GUARDIAN staff and to your readers the heartfelt thanks of the families of Smith Act persecution for your support to our summer appeal.

Over $6,000 has been realized. The great majority of the contributions came in single dollar bills from cities, towns, and farm areas in 41 different states of the union. As a result, the monthly commissary checks and various book requests of the individual Smith Act political prisoners have been taken care of. Continued trips of families to the far-flung prison visiting rooms were made possible. (As stated in our summer brochure, one round of such visits to all of the Smith Act prisoners costs $2,000). A number of our children with special needs have had summer holidays ranging from two to eight weeks. A solidarity check has been sent to the families of the Smith Act victims in Puerto Rico.

Cherished as these achievements are to us who are the immediate recipients of this support—equally important is the fact that the successful conclusion of this campaign represents the awareness of progressive-minded people that there are still political hostages and casualties of the American cold war witch-hunts—17 men and women in prison, 59 more convicted, and 40 more awaiting trials, all persecuted under the so so-called "conspiracy" and "membership" sections of the thought-control Smith Act. As long as this situation exists, it is clear that there is still a long struggle ahead before the Bill of Rights is fully restored to all the American people.

You and your readers have once again demonstrated your awareness of this fact. Please accept our thanks and gratitude.

Peggy Dennis, chairman
Families of Smith Act Victims
575 Sixth Ave., N. Y. 11, N. Y.

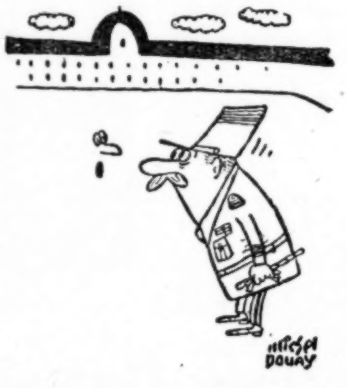
To Morton Sobell

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I think about you often.
Simple, common thought—
Wondering at the strength
That fights for wholeness
Within the stone of Alcatraz.

Know well that from your cell
A continental chain has formed—
Each human link
Determined to keep freedom's
promise.
The chant of innocence begins . . .

Anon.



Carrefour, Paris

"The camouflage service is ready for that aerial inspection, Colonel."

Stay independent

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Liberals, progressives and all supporters of good government were shocked when Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York refused to reappoint Justice Hubert T. Delany, one of the city's outstanding citizens, to the Domestic Relations Court bench. The Mayor's action was a slap in the face to the Negro people, the trade union movement and all citizens who value honesty and integrity in goverment.

The same Wagner administration is now purging every N. Y. C. housing project of persons refusing to sign loyalty oaths under the Gwinn Act, despite the fact that in Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Washington, D. C., court decisions have found the Act to be unconstitutional. The administration is also carrying on a witch-hunt among teachers and city employes. Furthermore Mayor Wagner has brought about no noticeable diminution of political jobbery, inefficiency and corrupt practice in city affairs.

This situation indeed confirms Vito Marcantonio's warning two years ago, in urging support for the American Labor Party municipal ticket, that there was no basic difference between the old party machines and their standard-bearers then contending for control of the city.

Nevertheless at least 50,000 N. Y. progressives who previously had voted the ALP ticket deserted their party's candidates in 1953 and voted for Wagner. This action was carried out on the theory that the imperative goal of '53 was "unity behind one candidate" to defeat Republican reaction.

Similarly in 1954, thousands of ALP-Progressives statewide deserted their own party's candidates to support W. Averell Harriman for governor. Similarly, the theory was to unite behind one candidate to "defeat Deweyism." This shift of ALP voters more than provided the winning margin for Harriman, but left the ALP some 3,000 short of the 50,000 votes requisite to remaining on the state ballot as a recognized political party.

The Governor of New York, for whose election the ALP voters sacrificed their party's ballot status, is now a leading aspirant for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1956. One of the earliest plotters of the cold war, he has this year been a leading advocate of a return to cold war policies. He has demanded repudiation of the Geneva accords, resumption of Dulles' so-called "liberation" policy abroad and an intensification of the cold war against civil liberties at home. . .

Adlai Stevenson is not far behind Harriman in condemnation of President Eisehower's proffers of friendship to the Soviet leaders. These two leading Presidential hopefuls are joined in their warmongering by the chairman of their party, Paul M. Butler, by former President Harry S. Truman, by Senators Douglas of Illinois, Humphrey of Minnesota and virtually every other "liberal" of the Democratic Party with the possible exception of Kefauver of Tennessee.

The "coalition" theory has supported Wagner, Harriman, Douglas, Humphrey and their ilk in the hope that with progressive and labor support such candidates would respond more readily to pressure. Instead it is President Eisenhower who has responded to popular pressure for peace, over the opposition of Stevenson, Harriman, Douglas and the rest.

The reverses of these last two campaigns are fresh evidence that the only way in which American progressives can make their influence felt is by a critical and independent position with respect to the old parties. The specter of defeat because of lack of progressive support is the only effective weapon progressives can wield over the machine politicians today.

We who believe in independent political action have no illusions about mounting a Presidential campaign in 1956, but there is scarcely a Congressional aspirant outside of the Solid South who cannot now be made to sit up and take notice if threatened with an independent candidacy based on peace, jobs and rights.

Therefore I urge all who believe in this potentiality not to dissipate strength and energy by enrolling in or dabbling in the internal politics of the machine parties now or in 1956, but rather to preserve the independence which is our surest weapon. Let us begin now to rebuild our independent progressive political movement for the fights ahead. Let us have an end now to coalitions on any basis with advocates of cold war, enemies of labor and the Bill of Rights, friends of Jim Crow.

Clifford T. McAvoy

Following receipt of the above letter, the Wagner administration in New York asked the Supreme Court to approve firing of city employes for invoking the Fifth Amendment. Arguing that it should be "under no greater disabilities than a private employer," the city's brief cited the example of the N. Y. Times' firing of copy editor Melvin Barnet for using the Fifth Amendment before the Eastland Committee. The city's brief was filed for argument Oct. 17 by Peter Campbell Brown, who ran the Wagner administration witch-hunt until appointed Corporation Counsel. —Ed.

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Vol. 7, No. 51 178 OCTOBER 10, 1955

REPORT TO READERS

. . . till we've tried

BY HAPPY COINCIDENCE the date for required publication of our statement of ownership and circulation (see page 11) falls within a week of the date on which we wind up seven years of publication.

About this time of year in 1948 certain well-meaning friends were counseling Cedric Belfrage and colleagues that it couldn't be done, so why plough ahead with something doomed to failure?

Cedric's reply, while more tersely phrased, was not vastly different from that of the Edgar Guest hero:

> **. . . that maybe it couldn't but he would be one who wouldn't say so till he'd tried.**

ANYWAY, HERE WE ARE heading into our eighth year with a figure which, if somewhat spare, has a good, rangy bone structure and can add weight nicely if the diet is right. So Belfrage & Co. were right to try, no? And having battled through the parlous periods since '48—with the atom spy hoax, the Smith-McCarran-McCarthy terror, the lynchers and the warmakers all tearing at the people's vitals—we should fare better, now that some of these elements are on the run, should we not?

Friends, the answer is up to you and your friends. Proper diet is all-important, and you're in charge of that department.

- The staff of life in our diet is a continuing readership. If your paper is coming to you addressed in red ink, your sub is due for renewal and our diet is deficient at least that $3 worth.

- Our "Buck-of-the-Month" pledgers have done a noble job all year adding vitamins to make up for such diet deficiencies month by month, though properly such contributions should be available for expanded coverage and other services that improve the paper. Some pledgers have missed up now and then and if you are one you've had a reminder from us. Have we had your answer?

If you're not a pledger, how about pitching in for '56?

- You have friends, most certainly, who should and would subscribe to the GUARDIAN. Have you talked the matter over with them lately? Our $1 trial sub brings the paper for six months, wrapped if they want it that way.

IN BRIEF, HELP! If you have some spare time to make a few telephone calls or ring a doorbell or so in your neighborhood, we can use that kind of help too. Sometimes just a nudge brings in a long overdue renewal or results in signing up a long-time holdout.

Will you handle your end of this? Today?

—THE GUARDIAN

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Mississippi and Algeria

(Continued from Page 1)

which has received thousands of letters on the Mississippi bestiality in addition to the meeting's resolution demanding justice to the killers—is just that this wave of protest is so obviously spontaneous. "The communists" cannot possibly be blamed for it. Nor could the tone of the protests, either in the hall or in the cafe meeting, even be called "anti-American." All the speakers underlined the fact that the lynching and the verdict are symptoms of the world-wide disease of racism.

The loudest applause went to those who pointed out that France itself is far from guiltless, especially at the present time in the colonial shambles of North Africa. The audience clearly represented every sort and condition and color of Parisians with a conscience.

FEW FAURE FRIENDS: The mass sentiment about this far-away lynching is the more remarkable in light of the gathering crisis in France and in the remains of its disintegrating empire. In France there is a rising wave of strikes against the fantastic cost of living: except for rents for miserably inadequate housing, prices in Paris are about the same as New York's, with salaries averaging around $20-$25 a week.

As parliament reassembled Oct. 4, even the best friends of Premier Faure hardly dared defend him; another period of desperate search for another unrepresentative government is at hand, with the possibility of a resurgence of Mendes-France. In North Africa, especially Algeria, which already runs red with blood, the situation seems to be beyond the point where a genius could patch it up. One cannot look toward Algerian elections of any meaningful kind, since political organizations are outlawed and tens of thousands are interned and jailed.

For the demand everywhere, whether expressed in mature political or primitive religious terms, and battering down the doors of privilege, is for an end to racism—which means an end to colonialism in any form.

THE FIRE-EATERS: Some elements in the amorphous groupings known as French "governments" may want to find some form of compromise with the Algerian nationalists; indeed, there are such elements in Algeria itself, in big business and the administration. But the fire-eating "ultra-colonials" represented by such army generals as Koenig insist on rule by mass murder—by the massacre of entire villages on the Nazi principle of "collective responsibility"; and a government split in all directions, on some issues difficult even to identify, cannot or will not control them.

When the "second college" members representing Algeria's 10 million Moslems—actually "elected" with the French government's aid—flatly rejected France's "integration" policy last month, what they were saying was clear: that the Moslems no longer expect anything but murderous racism from the French colonizers, and their "representatives" are forced to say so. One Paris commentator describes the "integration" policy as "no longer even funny" to the Algerian Moslems.

And again, what is embarrassing is that everyone in Algeria, and nearly everyone in France, knows "the communists" are not responsible for this attitude. The most respectable attempts to let France know the true picture of Algeria are met by the dominent "ultra-colonials" with savage repression.

THE BARRAT CASE: Of special interest to your editor-in-exile is the case of Robert Barrat, a Catholic journalist who recently published in **France-Observateur** an interview with a group of Algerian "outlaws"—nationalist resistance fighters. Like the U. S., France has no law under which a journalist can be jailed for writing what he has seen or heard; but there is more than one way to skin a cat. The "ultra-colonials" had Barrat arrested and jailed in France because he did not inform the authorities about the "outlaws" he interviewed—that is, for not confusing the role of journalist with that of stool-pigeon.

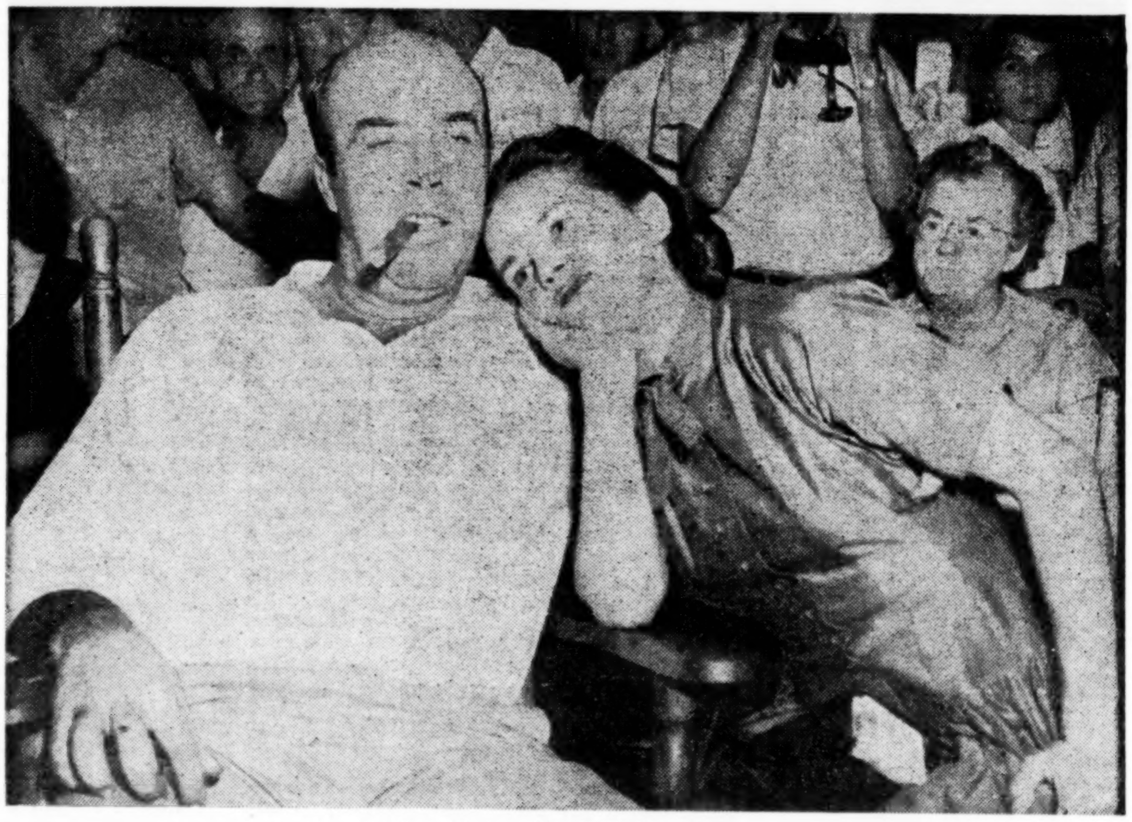
Barrat, a former secy. general of the Catholic Center of French Intellectuals, who writes mainly for the Catholic **Témoignage Chrétien,** took no position on the rights or wrongs of his subject-matter. But due only to very strong and broad protests he was released on bail just a few hours before he was to have been delivered up to "ultra-colonial" justice in Algeria, where he would be subject to 10 years' imprisonment.

WASHINGTON'S POSITION: Actually the forces represented by Barrat are the more moderate French elements in Algeria which seek a compromise with the nationalists specifically excluding the Communists and Socialists. His arrest was a further attempt by the "ultra-colonials" to intimidate these moderates. As for U. S. interests in North Africa, they would probably favor such a Left—excluding compromise which could push them further in commercially and France further out. But Washington, while fearful for the security of its N. Africa bases in the state of outright war which may result, is compelled to support the dangerous "ultra-colonial" position of its NATO ally in the UN.

Meanwhile, only a completely new deal can assuage the hunger of "France's" Moslems—now averaging $50 per head annual income—for the liberty they are cynically told they possess, and for life itself. Nothing can weaken their resolve—in common with oppressed peoples all over the world of whom they are hardly aware—to end racism once and for ever.

The attempt to divert these longings by arresting journalists who lift a curtain on the truth is as futile as government by massacre. The bourgeoisie of France may no longer be willing, as they were 100 or 50 years ago when they really believed in capitalist democracy, to join in the fight against such attacks on basic liberties. But the workers and the best of the intellectuals still carry high the banner of France's tradition.

Cedric Belfrage



. . . to them that hate you . . . —MATTHEW 5:44

These are the faces of J. W. Milam, defendant in the Emmett Till murder trial, and his wife just after his swift acquittal in Sumner, Miss., of killing the 14-year-old Negro boy from Chicago. Not in generations had so many Americans faced up to the malignancy of race hatred in their country. Anger, tears—and a search for remedies—welled up all over the land. Protests to Atty. Gen. Brownell were first in order, to preserve justice in hate-ridden Mississippi. Few were ready to follow the gospel precept of the apostle Matthew: ". . . do good to them that hate you. . . ." Yet none could deny that their nation must be cured of a deadly sickness, festering in the South, to be able ever to stand erect in the eyes of the world.

Anti-colonial revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

American and SEATO nations split in their voting. The Soekarno government claims west Irian as part of free Indonesia, while the Dutch—who have been investing heavily and building modern harbors and airfields in West Irian with U. S. help—insist on holding on to the colony.

The votes showed that the tight grip of the colonial powers on UN can be weakened when the anti-colonial countries are united. But the unity of the latter should not be overestimated; on the Algerian issue the U. S. gave only lukewarm support to France. On the crucial question of China's admission to the UN the Bandung powers split completely apart. On another colonial question, self determination for Cyprus, the main Bandung powers (India, Indonesia, Burma) abstained. Yet a new phase of UN history was clearly beginning.

By withdrawing its delegation from the Tenth Assembly, France avoids participation in embarrassing discussions of Morocco and Algeria, and also a Trusteeship Council discussion of the French Cameroons. By maintaining its place in the Security Council, France hangs on to its status as one of the Big Five. But its walkout was not highly regarded either by its closest allies or even its own Foreign Office, which showed "much less enthusiasm than did the political chiefs" for this gesture of pique (**N. Y. Times, 10/2**).

ROADS FOR THE FRENCH: The French gesture focussed attention on the mounting political crisis in France which began in North Africa and "has become the deepest, ugliest, most serious since the creation of the Fourth Republic" (**New Republic, 10/3**). The French government is proving increasingly unable to govern. The **New Republic** asked:

> "Where is there another government whose head permits leading colleagues and appointees not only to disagree publicly with his decisions but openly to sabotage them? . . . [These instances of open sabotage] add up to something worse than immobilism on the part of the present French Government."

The bad old days

DURING the UN debate on Algeria Sept. 30, French Foreign Minister Pinay, insisting that Algeria is "an integral part" of France, referred to Algerians as "Frenchmen of Algeria." India's Krishna Menon commented:

"We were long British subjects, which was bad enough, but no one dared to call us Englishmen."

The weakness of the Faure government has given enormous power to the vested colonial interests in North Africa. These interests see the whole French colonial system threatened (N. Africa is the French doorway to Central Africa where there are already stirrings of revolt), demand a "solution" of violence, and sabotaged Faure's feeble efforts at compromise. At the same time, Algerian insurgents have achieved a new level of organization and are now, according to Claude Bourdet, editor of **France-Observateur,**

> "... as much the masters of the countryside in the Constantine region as the Vietminh were in Viet Nam. As in Viet Nam, the French are limited to the towns and roads—and the roads only in the daytime with military protection." (**Nation, 9/17**).

TROUBLE AT HOME: To quell the mounting rebellion in Morocco and Algeria the French government has retained in the Army 104,000 soldiers due for demobilization and called up another 75,000 men, spurring hostility within France to the policy of massacres and violence. The recent refusal of some 400 French aimen to be sent to North Africa was a straw in the wind. Strike movements for higher wages, sometimes marked by unity from below among Communist and anti-Communist unions, are also an important feature of France's internal situation.

The post-Geneva world, it is already clear, will not be without its crises. Bourdet has predicted that if an extreme right government comes to power in France (Faure's government is itself quite far to the right) and pursues a Hitler-like terror in North Africa, conditions would be created which could bring France itself very close to civil war.

THE TILL LYNCHING

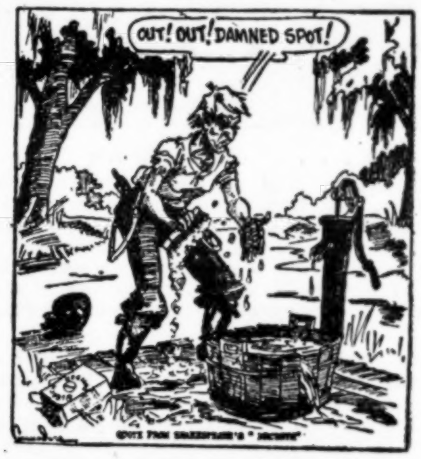
Case of missing witnesses: why didn't they testify?

By Eugene Gordon

WHITE REPORTERS, segregated from their Negro colleagues, gave a vivid description of the Tallahatchie County, Miss., murder trial Sept. 19-23, in which two white men were acquitted of murdering a 14-year-old Negro boy. The GUARDIAN this week bases its story on significant new facts provided by reporters on the other side of the jimcrow line.

Motorists glancing at a signpost pointing toward Sumner, Miss., noted that the village of 500 was "A Good Place To Raise A Boy." A Baltimore **Afro-American** reporter quoted another reporter: "Yes. A good place to raise a boy's body from the river."

Negro reporters, however, gave vent to their anger not only in sardonic quips. Having access to sources of information denied their white colleagues, they supplied the prosecution with leads which, if followed, might have forced the jury to consider other questions than whether or not the body raised in the Tallahatchie was Emmett Louis Till's.


OUT! OUT! DAMNED SPOT!

Chicago Defender

Repeat performance, Mississippi

WILLIE REED'S STORY: Negro reporters learned, and told the prosecution this: that the story told by half-brothers Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam—that they released the Chicago boy within an hour after they had dragged him from his bed—had at least two holes big enough to drive Milam's truck through. Willie Reed, an 18-year-old Negro farm-hand, made one such breach:

Four hours after Emmett was supposed to have been released and told to go back to his uncle Mose Wright's house, Reed saw the boy in Milam's truck, with two teenage Negro field-hands, and being driven into a barn owned by Milam's full brother, Leslie. Emmett was not seen when the truck left, heading down the road.

The prosecution's investigators reported, after examining the barn interior, that everything was in order there. But Negro correspondents by that time were revealing a second hole in the half-brothers' story:

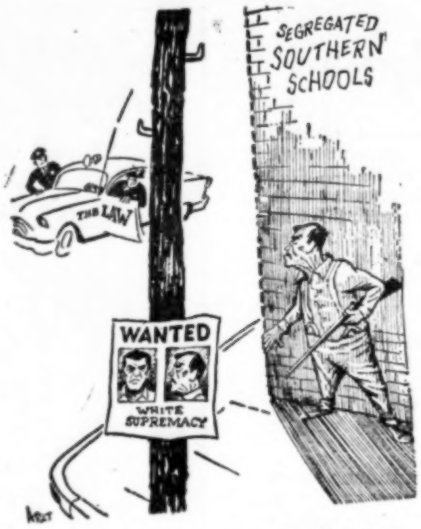
A few hours after the truck had entered the barn with Emmett and left apparently without him, the two field-hands—Leroy Collins and Henry Lee Loggins—were said to have been seen washing blood from the truck. After that the two youths vanished.

WHERE ARE THEY? Negro ministers—especially when they have congregations—and Negro physicians generally hold their people's confidences. These community leaders are generally NAACP heads. Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard, NAACP president in all-Negro Mound Bayou, Miss., first informed the prosecution that Sheriff H. C. Strider had locked up Collins and Loggins in distant Charleston, Miss., to prevent their testifying. When the prosecution failed to subpena them, Howard told the Negro reporters. Sheriff Strider swore that he couldn't find them.

The Chicago **Defender** said last week that Collins was in Chicago but that Loggins was still in Mississippi. Till's Uncle Moses Wright is in Chicago with his family. Willie Reed is also there.

Frank Young and Walter Billups, also Negro, were among "several witnesses still to be heard from" when the prosecution rested. **Afro** reporter James L. Hicks, who helped find them, said they had important information. Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.,), who sat as an observer at the jimcrow table with Negro reporters, shared their concern when Negro witnesses, released to pick cotton, were crowded into a car driven by a white man.

CHARGE AGAINST HICKS: During a lunch recess two days before the verdict Hicks' auto key was taken from him and he was ordered by a deputy sheriff to come to City Hall. He and a delegation of white and Negro reporters persuaded an official to name the charge: driving past a parked school bus. The trial Justice of the Peace, a linotypist on the Sumner **Sentinel**, made Hicks listen to a reading of the pertinent section of the law and released him. The incident reminded Negro reporters of their sensitive position.



N. Y. Herald Tribune

FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE

Hicks wrote, after the verdict:

> "If ever there were reasoning and logic based on stark, cold facts laid before a jury of the people . . . it was laid before the people of Mississippi . . . [for] the orderly procedure of law slowly and surely spun a web of conviction around the two accused."

PROBE GOES ON: The **Afro** saw "equal justice under law not possible in Mississippi," because "government and justice" are in the hands of "mobs and plantation owners." The Chicago **Defender** reported that Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of the murdered boy, planned to sue "each of the persons involved in the kidnap-slaying of her son" for at least $200,000 on civil charges. The **Defender** said editorially:

> "We will continue our investigations, which helped uncover new witnesses in the case, to find other Negroes who actually witnessed the lynching, before they too are found in the Tallahatchie River."

Switch-hunt

Washington, Sept. 26—The Army is faced with a security problem in reverse, says Army Secretary Brucker.

Some men are avoiding military service by claiming they are Communists, although the Army is pretty sure they are not, Brucker disclosed yesterday.

N. Y. Post, Sept. 26.

Occasional appointment of Negroes to high office, said the **Defender,**

> ". . . is significant and rightfully applauded, but it means little to the millions of Mose Wrights, born with low ceilings over their heads . . . denied an education . . . a fair return for their labor . . . a chance to walk in the sun and frequently denied the right to live until they're 65, as Milam reminded Mose Wright."

"GRAPHIC REMINDER": Conversely, the Milams and the "bankers, lawyers, doctors and businessmen" who back them, were reminded by the **N. Y. Amsterdam News** that "40,000 colored citizens turned out at Till's funeral in Chicago"; that "25,000 attended a mass monster meeting" in New York, "15,000 in Cleveland and 20,000 in Detroit."

A week later in New York, 3,000 more heard NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins demand that U. S. Atty. Gen. Brownell "get down there in Mississippi and get busy." All these demonstrations, the paper said, were

> ". . . a grim and graphic reminder to America and to the entire world that 16,000,000 Negroes will no longer stand for [this] inhuman treatment."

Recalling that "Mississippi's Black Friday—Sept. 23, 1955—was also the 166th anniversary of the Bill of Rights," the Pittsburgh **Courier** concluded:

> "The unreconstructed South, led by Mississippi . . . has made plain its determination to continue the debasement and destruction of our people. We must mobilize our forces, our friends and our ingenuity to make sure that THIS GENOCIDE does NOT SUCCEED."

Kidnap trial

ROY BRYANT and J. W. Milam, acquitted in 65 minutes in the Till murder, were released in $10,000 bond each Sept. 30 after an informal 3-minute hearing. The men were released from the Leflore County, Miss., jail, to await trial on kidnaping charges.

Leflore sheriff George Smith, to whom they admitted kidnaping the Negro boy before they went to trial for murder, congratulated the men. A Leflore County grand jury may take up the kidnaping charges next month.

Milam said he was going to pick his cotton. Bryant said he would reopen his store in Money, Miss., where his wife said the Till boy whistled at her.

At Houston airport all Negroes are VIP's

WHEN India's ambassador to the U. S., G. L. Mehta, was jimcrowed into a private dining room "reserved for Very Important Persons" in the Houston airport dining room in August, Mayor Hofheinz apologized profusely. He said he was proud that Houstonians do not discriminate against anyone of any race."

Last week Cliff Richardson in the Pittsburgh **Courier** reported that Negroes on transcontinental flights were having a hard time avoiding the VIP treatment at the Houston airport. They want to be treated like ordinary citizens, Richardson said, but hostesses meet all Negroes at the door of the dining room and explain that the private dining room is reserved especially for prominent persons. Richardson wrote:

> "A member of [a Negro group sent secretly to investigate] told the hostess that no one in the party was prominent and that they preferred sitting in the main dining room, so they could see the planes coming in and taking off."

The hostess shook her head when they pointed to the 15 unoccupied tables. She regretted that they were all "reserved."

AT NEW YORK RALLY

Sen. Langer pledges to do all he can for Morton Sobell

IN NEW YORK'S CARNEGIE HALL on Sept. 29, Sen. William Langer (R-N. D.) pledged to do "everything I can" to win justice for Morton Sobell, fellow-victim of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, now serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz.

At the meeting sponsored by the Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, an audience of 1,800 cheered Sen. Langer, novelist Waldo Frank, the legendary Warren K. Billings of the Mooney-Billings case of 39 years ago, and Sobell's mother, Mrs. Rose Sobell.

Sen. Langer, who has been strongly criticized for appearing at the "Rebirth of Freedom" rally sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Comm. last spring and for his agreeing to appear at the Sobell rally, paid tribute to Corliss Lamont as one of the great champions of civil liberties and declared that he had inserted in the Congressional Record the court decision that Lamont was not guilty. Regarding his appearance at the Sobell meeting, Langer said:

> "I want you to know and I want the press to report that I am proud to be here at this meeting tonight. I want the people of N. Dakota and the people of the U. S. to know that I am glad to speak for Morton Sobell."

RIGHTS OF THE INNOCENT: Criticizing prosecutors who try a case in the press by releasing stories to "create an atmosphere" before the accused goes on trial, Langer called for new legislation or at least new interpretations of the law and said:

> "It is the duty of an Attorney General to see that no innocent man gets sent to prison, just as much as it is his duty to convict the guilty. [He should] use all the services of the FBI to see all the evidence is brought out and not suppressed."

Assuring the audience that other senators were equally interested in seeing justice done to Morton Sobell, Langer said to Mrs. Morton Sobell:

> "As a member of the Senate Judiciary Comm., I will do everything I can to see that your husband . . . gets justice."

In fighting for a new trial for Sobell, the Natl. Comm. has petitioned for a hearing by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, of which Sen. Langer is a member, charging that the FBI and the Justice Dept. suppressed evidence in the Sobell case.

GOD AND MAN: The Senator received one prompt reprisal. On the following day the Federal Employes' Veterans Assn. canceled a talk he was scheduled to deliver to its convention in Boston as "inadvisable" after the Senator's appearance at the Sobell rally.

Writer Waldo Frank reminded the audience of its own responsibility, when he said:

> "All of us are responsible because this man is in Alcatraz. . . . We're responsible just as everyone was responsible during the Salem witch-hunt, or during the Ku Klux Klan outbreak, or during the Know-Nothing period of hatred against Catholics. We are responsible for seeing that America must right itself . . . [This meeting] is a symbol of the America we all love."

Chairman Cameron then introduced 62-year old Warren K. Billings, who served 23 years in prison before the charges against Tom Mooney and himself were acknowledged to be frame-ups. Billings compared Sobell's case with his own, and declared that sooner or later perjury is exposed, as in the Mooney-Billings case and the Harry Bridges case. He said:

> "The thing we have to worry about is that it doesn't take too long, and sometimes it does take too long. It is up to all us common ordinary working stiffs and ordinary citizens to free Sobell."

FARM *THE CRISIS GROWS DAILY*

The hottest political issue for 1956

By Lawrence Emery

AT THE BEGINNING of this year Secy. of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson wrote an article for the Washington **Post & Times Herald** in which he said:

> "I am persuaded that agriculture's progress in 1954 is an assurance of a more stable, productive, and prosperous agriculture tomorrow. . . . The downward slide of farm prices has, I think, definitely been stopped. . . . We expect 1955 to be a year of stability for agriculture. . . . There is every reason to expect agriculture prices to remain steady this year and to strengthen during the next several years."

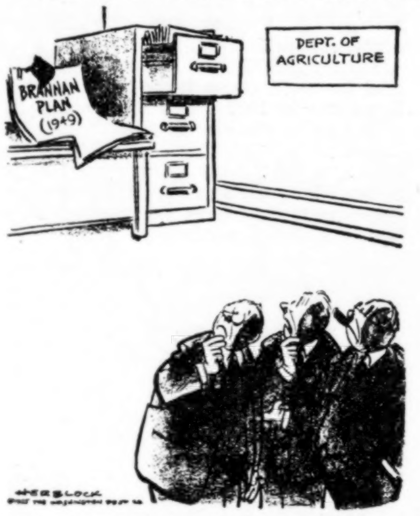
By mid-August in this "year of stability" the parity ratio of farm prices had reached the lowest point since 1940. By September prices were down 26% below the 1951 peak and net farm income was running at an annual rate of about $11,000,000,000 as compared with $16,700,000,000 in 1947. The farmer's share of the food dollar had shrunk from 47c in 1952 to 40c today.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED: The Benson flexibile price support program adopted by the 83d Congress was in effect for the first time this year; it was supposed to adjust production to demand, do away with surpluses and drastically reduce government expenditures to hold up farm income. The result: crops this year that are expected to equal the all-time record; mountainous surpluses; and a record loss of nearly $800,000,000 in the price support program, the most ever paid in any one year. Government funds tied up in price support operations were a billion dollars over the year before. Total losses on the price support program for the last two fiscal years were $219,000,000 more than in the preceding 18 years. And farm prices are still falling—against a background of the lushest corporation profits ever recorded in the nation's history.

These grim facts are building up to the hottest political issue for the 1956 Presidential and Congressional elections. Farmers are restive as they watch bankruptcy creep up on the old homestead. Republicans are desperately worried as they remember the election they won in 1948—until the count of the farm vote put Harry Tuman in the White House.

DICK DIDN'T DO: The GOP is frankly depending upon the Midwest farm vote to regain control at least of the House; the N. Y. **Times** on Sept. 27 quoted an unnamed high official of the party: "We have to count on the rural areas, or else."

To hold the line, the GOP brass recently sent Vice-President Nixon on a stumping tour of the farm belt, but most observers agreed that his easy platitudes and generalities—all in complete contrast to his voting record when he was in Congress—did little to calm farmer discontent.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Couldn't we call it the Benson Plan or something?"

Benson himself is silent on what plans, if any, he has to halt the farm crisis. His special Farm Advisory Committee ended a two-day meeting on Sept. 23 but refused to say what actions it would propose.

OTHER SIDE BUSY: Democrats meanwhile were making hay while the prices fell. In late August they set up their own Agricultural Advisory Committee headed by Claude Wickard, Secy. of Agriculture under Roosevelt, and Charles F. Brannan, secretary under Truman. Said Wickard:

> "The Republicans haven't got a single idea about what to do about the farm depression."

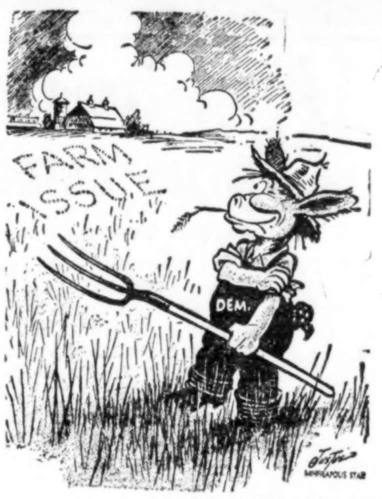
Agricultural committees of both houses, chaired by Democrats, plan extensive tours and public hearings in most farm regions this month to sound out grass root sentiment. But so far the only thing the Democrats have to offer is a bill to restore rigid 90% supports which passed the House in the last session of Congress and is expected to be acted upon in the Senate early in the next session which begins in January.

NEW DEAL "POISON": Some Benson aides are talking about a plan for the government to "lease" some 40,000,000 acres of land at a rental of about $600,000,000 a year and take it out of production and plant it with non-commercial soil-building crops. But this is poison to the GOP because it is a "New Deal" notion and was actually initiated by Henry Wallace in 1936. Similarly poisonous to the GOP is renewed discussion of a plan of direct payments to farmers to make up the difference in what he receives on the free market and a parity ratio of income, with consumers benefitting by low prices. This, of course, is the Brannan Plan which Republicans killed by denouncing it as "socialistic."

Also worrisome to the GOP is the beginning of farmer-labor unity on the Congressional level which first appeared in the last session of Congress when both the AFL and CIO actively lobbied for high farm price supports. and several farm bloc Congressmen backed labor's demand for a minimum wage of $1.25.

CABINET SPLIT: On Sept. 21 Benson made a speech in New Orleans in which he suggested that farmers' woes are due to labor's high wages and charged that several recent pay boosts were not justified. This not only embarassed his own department, but angered Labor Secy. James P. Mitchell who told needling reporters that the speech hadn't been cleared with him.

But passing the buck wouldn't solve the crisis, which is rapidly becoming more severe. As long ago as March **U. S. News & World Report** warned that the farm situation may trigger a general depression and said that no solution seems in sight "unless there is a war or some other calamity."



Justus in Minneapolis Star

"Well—looks like hay-makin' time!"

PLANNED DEPRESSION? To others the Benson program of low prices and scarcity seemed deliberate and planned for the purpose of delivering all agriculture over to big business. On Sept. 25 William T. Evjue, editor and publisher of the Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times**, said in a radio talk:

> "The viewpoint that has taken increasing hold since the advent of the Eisenhower administration is that farm depression is a good thing because it will drive the small, so-called 'inefficient' farmer from the land, leaving farming to the large industrial type operator. . . . We may be witnessing a planned depression for agriculture and a revolution in the American belief that farming is not only an economic venture but a way of life."

THE JOB—ORGANIZE: Many a farmer saw a solution only in his own efforts in his own behalf. The **Northeastern Union Farmer**, Ogdensburg, N. Y., in its July issue wrote:

> "Whatever way one looks at it, this country and its farmers are in for serious trouble, with no one caring much about what happens to farmers so long as the food rolls in. We as farmers have somewhat of a choice of action. We can wait, in hopes for another Roosevelt with another New Deal and Pump Priming. This could prove a vain hope, and without much substance when we did get it. The other choice is for farmers to organize and insist on fair and equitable treatment. . . ."

RHEE'S BUTCHERS WAIT FOR HIM

Government renews its vindictiv e attempt to deport Diamond Kimm to South Korea

DIAMOND KIMM, 50, came to this country from Korea in 1928 as a student. He majored in geology at the Univ. of So. California, did post-graduate work at the Colorado School of Mines and in 1936 won his degree as a metallurgical engineer. In 1939, after a rigorous "security" investigation, he was employed by the U. S. government to test naval and aircraft supplies.

When the U. S. was drawn into World War II, Kimm did two things. He helped found a bi-lingual paper, **Korean Independence**, to rally the support of Korean-Americans for the effort to free Korea from Japanese rule, and he volunteered his services to the armed forces.

COMMENDATION: He was accepted by the Office of Strategic Services and assigned to a Field Experimental Unit whose dangerous job was to prepare and conduct behind-the-lines warfare against the Japanese in Korea. His services were exceptional; when he was discharged in 1945 his commanding officer, Col. Carl F. Eifler, gave him this commendation:

> "The creation of the FEU was a task calling for the most exacting, nerve-straining work, for unquestioning obedience to sometimes bewildering orders, and for the utmost in loyalty and discretion. It was necessary many times for each of you to perform seemingly senseless tasks, to work endless extra hours, and throughout, to maintain complete secrecy in all phases of your work. . . .
>
> "You were one of those selected for particularly hazardous and difficult work, the full details of which may never be made public. The eager willingness you displayed in all phases of the program, and the unselfish patriotism which underlay your desire to serve, are particularly worthy of special mention."

SELF-DEPORTATION: After the war, with his homeland freed from the Japanese, Kimm applied for an exit visa to go home. He got no answer. Repeated requests to Washington by registered mail were met with silence.

So Kim stayed on in Los Angeles as editor and publisher of **Korean Independence** and when Syngman Rhee set up his dictatorial regime the paper became his most vehement critic in the U. S. Rhee objected, and the U. S. obligingly ordered Kimm to deport himself to South Korea. He understandably declined. But ten days before Harry Tuman undertook his police action against North Korea, Kimm was arrested for enforced deportation—and certain death. The charge: "overstaying his visa."

DIAMOND KIMM

For services rendered

Throughout the war in Korea Kimm's paper was harassed by FBI raids and several of his associates were also arrested for deportation. All succeeded in winning delays. One, English editor Sang Ryun Park, had the deportation order against him suspended by a Federal judge who caustically berated the Immigration Service for "summarily disposing of a man's life" and what he called the "perfunctory disposition of a human being." Following that Kimm's case rested in abeyance.

HEARING PUT OFF: Now it has suddenly been reactivated. Kim was ordered to appear at an Immigration Service hearing on Oct. 20 to offer evidence that his deportation to Rhee's regime would result in imprisonment, torture or death.

A clause in the Walter-McCarran Law authorizes the Attorney General "to withhold deportation of any alien . . . to any country in which in his opinion the alien would be subjected to physical persecution. . . ."

Protests were immediate—and temporarily effective: last week the Oct. 20 hearing was postponed indefinitely. But from Los Angeles came urgent pleas for continuing protests addressed to David M. Carnahan, Regional Director, Immigration & Naturalization Service, Terminal Island, San Pedro, Calif. Kimm supporters point out that a clearcut victory in his case could have a decisive bearing on the deportation actions against other Korean-Americans: Chung Soon and Chom Cha Kwak in New York; John Juhn, who prints **Korean Independence**; and David Hyun, Los Angeles architect and former head of the American Peace Crusade for Southern California.

An appeal for funds has also been made by Friends of Diamond Kimm, 1441 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.

Dell Rings Bell

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The farmers in the dell,
Oh, the farmers in the dell,
Hi-ho the Yankees oh!
Hi-ho the Russians oh!
We heard the farmers tell
They got along real swell.

Vee Emmess

MIDDLE EAST TURMOIL

Arms-for-Egypt stirs row; Cyprus coming to a boil

By Kumar Goshal

REACTION IN WASHINGTON and London to recent developments involving Arab-Israeli conflicts and the status of Cyprus indicates that the Bandung and Geneva conferences have had little effect on basic Anglo-U.S. policies in the Middle East.

(Arab-Israeli border conflicts have been continuous; recent clashes have involved Egypt and Israel across the Gaza strip bordering on the Negev. For the situation inside Israel, see p.7)

Last month action by the UN brought a lull in the fighting, but last week the news that Egypt was planning to buy arms from Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. precipitated a remarkable series of events.

BEHIND THEIR PACT: Israel asked the U.S.S.R. for "clarification . . . of its Middle Eastern policy," protested to Prague. Washington and London warned Moscow that the sale of arms to Egypt would violate the Geneva spirit and "inevitably increase tensions in the area." Moscow replied that Egypt had a right to purchase arms anywhere. It was then disclosed that, despite the tripartite pact (U.S., Britain, France) of 1950, Britain has sold arms to Egypt and the U.S. has been arming Iraq since Iraq was persuaded to join Turkey and Pakistan in a U.S.-sponsored pact. Pakistan's new Foreign Minister Hamidul Choudhury, however, supported Egypt's attempt to buy arms from the U.S.S.R., and called for a settlement leading to Arab-Israeli "coexistence within the bounds of Arab aspirations." It was also revealed that Egypt has long been negotiating an arms deal with the U.S., but has failed only because "the State Dept. had insisted on payment in cash" (**N.Y. Times**, 9/28).

LESSON IN CLARITY: Adding to the Alice-in-Wonderland quality of U.S. policy, the State Dept. declared—over British protest—that it was willing to sell arms to Egypt on credit to make sure Egypt would not buy any from the socialist countries. Washington sped Asst. Secy. of State George V. Allen to Cairo to put through the deal. Egypt's Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi promptly said at the UN that his government "would not accept any tutorship" on arms buying. The **N.Y. Post** said the American position has achieved

> ". . . new depths of illogic. It is the State Dept.'s considered view that Russian shipment of arms to the Arabs would . . . menace the spirit of Geneva. We will therefore affirm the Geneva spirit by insisting that the Arabs accept arms from us rather than from the Russians. Is everything dizzyingly clear?"

EYE ON THE VOTE: Before the Cairo flurry, Washington was alerady worried about the Middle East, especially since some Middle Eastern statesmen brought back from Bandung a less than horrendous picture of socialist countries. On Aug. 26 Secy. Dulles proposed a plan to end Arab-Israel hostilities: (1) an international loan to Israel, largely in dollars. to compensate displaced Arabs; (2) a Jordan Valley project financed mainly by the U.S.; (3) a "formal treaty engagement" (including the U.S.) to guarantee Israel's borders with her neighbors, fixed beforehand by agreement on both sides.

Dulles' proposals received a lukewarm response. Since New York's Gov. Harriman and Rep. Celler had already recommended a U.S.-Israel pact, Harrison Salisbury reported (**NYT**, 8/28) that some saw in the Dulles proposals "a shrewdly conceived political stroke" to eliminate from the 1956 elections any charge of the Administration being pro-Arab and anti-Israel; while others found in the Dulles plan a counterstroke to the Soviet Union's "increasing efforts . . . to win influence" among Arab states.

THE FLAWS: Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban pointed out that, in demanding an Arab-Israel border agreement **before** treaty arrangements, Dulles has presented "a built-in deadlock with somber potentialities of anticlimax and disilllusionment."

London officially supported Dulles, but the London **Times** (8/29) felt his plan had little chance since Dulles'

> ". . . assumption that the Arab refugees can be resettled outside Israel will infuriate the Arabs; the hint that Israel's boundaries may not be permanent will annoy Israel. The offer . . . meets none of Israel's current requests."

Athens: The Feast Day of the Holy Virgin

The day was made the occasion for a great demonstration by Greek students to support Greece's claim to Cyprus.

In explaining that the treaty guaranteeing the boundary would in no sense be a U.S.-British alliance with Israel, the London **Times** revealed the true nature of Anglo-U.S. interests in the Middle East:

> "Alliance implies a high identity of interest and Britain's interest in the Middle East can be advanced now by alliance with the Arab states. They alone, however incompetent, unstable or unreliable, have the oil, occupy the territory and provide the airfields in sufficient dispersion for the function they fulfill."

MORE COLD WAR: The **N.Y. Times'** Kennett Love in Jerusalem underscored this analysis:

> ". . . Since Arab areas contain strategic oil reserves and other military advantages it is unlikely that the great Western powers would make an alliance with Israel alone."

However, Israel is now reported to have struck oil of high quality, above world average, only seven miles from the conflict-torn Gaza border. Since this would make Israel relatively independent of oil from Venezuela and the U.S.S.R., more complications can be expected, especially over the Gaza strip.

At best, the Dulles proposals were a continuation of the cold war, based upon the conclusion—as the **N.Y. Times** said (8/27)—that strained Arab-Israeli relations were "an obstacle to unified defense of the Middle East against communism." In the unlikely event that the proposals went into effect, border supervision and control over refugee resettlement and allocation of water and power through the Jordan Valley project would give the U.S. enormous power over the economic and political life of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel.

Storm over Cyprus

THE EXPLOSIVE NATURE of the Middle East situation was also reflected in the violent Greek-British clashes in Cyprus and the Turkish atrocities in Istanbul and Izmir.

Turkey lost Cyprus to Britain in 1878, and formally ceded it by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, when Cyprus became a British Crown Colony. Of the 500,000 inhabitants of Cyprus, 400,000 are Greek, 90,000 Turkish. Ever since Greece became independent over 125 years ago, Cypriote Greeks have dreamed of unity with the Greek motherland.

At present, Cypriotes and the Greek government demand the right of self-determination for Cyprus. Some Cypriotes and the Greek government would let Britain retain military bases in Cyprus, but progressive Cypriotes have collected "well over 100,000 signatures against military bases" (London **Peace News**, 9/23). Turkey demands the maintenance of the status quo, as does Britain.

BRITAIN GETS TOUGH: The latest violence coincided with the collapse of the Britain-Greece-Turkey conference in London early last month. (See Noel Barber story, p. 7)

To keep the Cypriotes down, Britain decided "to get tough with the eastern Mediterranean colony" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 9/26) and appointed Field Marshal Sir John Harding as new governor and commander-in-chief of Cyprus. **CSM** said "it was the final signal for the British government to act as it has done in Malaya and Kenya. . . ." In New York, Greek Foreign Minister Stephanopoulos called the appointment a British declaration of war over Cyprus.

Secy. Dulles "jumped into the Cypriote row with both feet" (**CSM**, 9/19) by sending identical notes to Greece and Turkey, asking them "to transcend immediate differences" in the interest of NATO and the Balkan alliance. But it seemed that "for all practical purposes, the Balkan alliance of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia . . . is dead" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 9/22).

PRIVATE ENCOURAGEMENT: Since until recently the Turks showed little interest in the fate of Cyprus, the intensity of Turkish feeling on Cyprus came as a surprise to the Greeks; at the London conference, "Turkey turned out to be almost more adamant in its position than Great Britain" (**NYHT**, 9/22). Cyrus Sulzberger reported (**NYT**, 8/24) that "the British privately encouraged the Turks to express their interest. That was all Ankara needed."

To Washington and London the Middle East is vital because, as **NYHT's** military editor Ansel E. Talbert wrote (9/1),

> " . . . U.S. bombers carrying nuclear explosives could threaten the most vital parts of the entire Communist war machine from bases in Turkey and other parts of the Middle East."

They are intent on controlling Cyprus because, as Sulzberger wrote (**NYT**, 7/4), the island

> ". . . controls sea and air lanes to the Far East and to Russia's 'soft underbelly' along the Black Sea. It enables powerful American and British fleets to support the Balkan Pact with atomic striking power."

DEEPER MOTIVES: But evidence of the weakening of NATO, the Balkan Pact, SEATO and other such military alliances continued to pile up. Don Cook reported (**NYHT**, 9/25) "a strong element of straight anti-government demonstration" in the riots in Turkey; one Turk told him "this is the only course people have open to them in making their feelings felt."

The Turkish government shut down five leading newspapers for criticizing official policy, foreign diplomats in Ankara doubted "the regime can survive without resorting to methods that would destroy . . . freedom of dissent" (**NYT**, 9/17).

As a Lebanese correspondent reported in the London **Peace News**, although Middle East leaders

> ". . . give the appearance of siding with the West . . . the mass of opinion in these countries is essentially neutralist in the cold war."

Query to editorial writers of N.Y. Times and Herald Tribune: 'What papers do you read'?

A N.Y. **Times** editorial (10/2), supporting the French position in UN debate on Algeria, said:

> "Algeria is legally a part of Metropolitan France. . . . The French are on strong ground [in considering the Algerian problem] to be legally and constitutionally strictly domestic."

Times correspondent Harold Callender reported from Paris in the same issue:

> "In Algeria the [legal] fiction is that that country is actually a part of metropolitan France. Yet [in its legislature] fewer than one million Europeans have equal representation with more than eight million Moslems. . . . If representation were equal in all respects, Algeria would have about 141 Deputies in the French Assembly, eight-ninths of them chosen by Moslems. No Frenchman has advocated this."

A N.Y. **Herald Tribune** editorial the same day said: "Algeria is an integral part of France. It is not a colony, not a dependency . . ."

HT correspondent Barret McGurn wrote in the same issue:

> "Although France claims that Algeria is a part of France . . . Algeria still has all the earmarks of a colony. . . . The first cabinet to propose Algerian home rule would be promptly ousted."

A NATION AT THE CROSSROADS

Israel and Asia: a question of destiny

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

MORE THAN TWO MONTHS after the elections for the Third Knesset (Parliament) Premier-designate David Ben Gurion announced that he had reached agreement with the two other Zionist Socialist parties—Mapam and Achdut Avoda—to form a government. These two had been a united party until last year's split and are both left of Ben Gurion's Mapal party. The three parties, together with five Arab votes controlled by Mapai, command a slender majority of four in Israel's new Parliament. Provided every vote is mobilized, the new Government should have no difficulty in obtaining an affirmative vote when it presents itself to the Knesset in the near future.

How long this strange alliance of pro-Western and pro-Eastern oriented Social Democrats will last is another question. While it does last, no vital change in national policy can be expected, however. Mapai's influence based on numerical strength alone—commanding more than twice as many votes as the other two parties combined—will remain dominant. Any serious attempt to direct Israel's foreign policy into more neutralist channels will almost certainly result in the disintegration of the coalition.

ACTIVISTS TO THE FORE: Whether the new government will be able to effect any profound change in Israel's relations to the Arab countries remains equally doubtful. The situation has quieted down a good deal since that first weekend in September when war seemed imminent; but this relaxation of tension—welcome as it is—apparently has come about largely because the UN General Assembly is in session and neither side is anxious to be accused of aggression now.

The basic cause of conflict remains unresolved, and a new flare-up in the fighting might come at any time—especially since the activists on either side of the border seem to have gained the upper hand.

The recent elections here pointed the way, when the pro-fascist Heruth party—heir and successor to the terrorist organizations—doubled its vote. It sought and found its support mainly among the new immigrants from the Oriental countries, the least politically educated sector of the population, and thus most susceptible to demagogy.

An increase was also registered by Achdut Avoda—now in the government coalition—the most activist of the Social Democratic parties.

On the Egyptian side the immediate reason for recent bellicosity presumably was to divert attention from the damage done to Egyptian foreign policy by Foreign Minister Salah Salem: his extraordinarily violent propaganda against the Sudanese and, earlier, against the Iraqi government.

THE NEW "HUN": Yet, the basic antagonism lies deeper than even the violent fighting over Gaza would indicate. After seven years of war and uneasy armistice, chauvinism has become an almost universal feature affecting every part of Israel society. The only exception is the Communists who remain, however, a party of intellectuals and lack any mass base save among the Arab minority. The Arab has become the bogeyman, just as the "Hun" was for so long in England and France. Mothers scare their children by telling them that they will hand them over "to the Arabs."

On the Arab side, matters seem no more promising. In a letter to the London **New Statesman & Nation** Sept. 10, the secretary of the Arab Students Union in England, T. Sahib, said:

> "The rising generation of educated Arabs . . . are the only power in the Middle East which hold back some of the Arab governments from submitting to a shameful agreement with Israel."

The face of a child who has felt the curse of war
An Israeli girl who witnessed the death of her father at the hands of Egyptian raiders at a settlement in the Gaza strip.

During the recent World Youth Festival in Warsaw, relations between Israel and Arab youth were non-existent and Arab speakers on several occasions called for measures against Israel. This indicates a retrogressive step, for at previous international gatherings on a non-governmental level—I remember especially the World Congress of Women in 1953—friendly relations were indeed established.

THE ORIGINS: The roots of the conflict lie in the period before the establishment of the state of Israel. Once the idea of a bi-national state was rejected, Israel, in the Arab nationalist view, was bound to be regarded as an interloper in the Middle East. Yet, even so, the new state enjoyed the approval of the vast majority of world public opinion, including progressive opinion.

As a young and modern capitalist state in a region dominated by feudal powers, Israel constituted, in effect, a progressive element. Living conditions, from the beginning and even at a time of severest austerity, were infinitely superior to those of the neighboring countries. Mother and child care, social insurance, medical and educational facilities, as introduced here, were unheard of anywhere else in the Middle East. Wages in Israel—even for Arab workers, who are paid approximately one-third less than Jewish workers—were incomparably higher than in any Arab country. In this sense, Israel, from the outset, formed a threat to the feudal interests of Arab rulers.

WAS THERE A DEAL? However, there was another side to this coin. As a capitalist state, economically and financially tied to the West, Israel, from the beginning, began to identify herself politically with the West. It has long been assumed here that President Truman's sudden and dramatic recognition of Israel—of which even the U. S. delegation to the UN at the time was unaware—came in return for an undertaking by the leaders of the Jewish Agency, who today remain the leaders of the Government, to keep the new state firmly within the Western orbit.

Once the state had come into being, the official policy of non-identification was soon abandoned. Relations with the Eastern countries deteriorated and no attempt was made to integrate this litle country, on the fringe of Asia, into Asia's fast-developing political context.

This rejection of Asia and identification with the West presumably constitutes the worst psychological blunder on Israel's part. More than any other single factor, it helped to mobilize Asian opinion against it—as was proved by Bandung. If there is one common denominator in Asia today, it is its anti-Western bias, an attitude which is shared by nationalists and progressives, Communists and non-Communists. By its total identification with the West, Isrrael had put itself outside the Asian pale.

ULTIMATE DESTINY: Within the Asian context of 1955, Israel—pro-capitalist and pro-Western—no longer constitutes the progressive element which it was in 1948. The history of the past decade has proved that, while capitalism is progressive within the feudal framework, nations do not necessarily have to go through a period of capitalism before aspiring to socialism.

All over Asia, nationalism and socialism have combined to create a new social order. Both are hostile to a capilist order which they identify with the West. The Arab countries form part of Asia. In these countries, too, chauvinist feudal rulers and progressive elements vie with each other in their quest for a popular following. For either one, Israel today presents an easy scapegoat, for Israel has yet to learn her Asian destiny.

Eye-witness: Night of terror in Istanbul

By Noel Barber

Following are excerpts from correspondent Noel Barber's story of the Istanbul riots in the London Daily Mail *(9/14). Barber, vacationing in the Mediterranean, went to Istanbul when the rioting story broke; he had to smuggle out his story in his shoe to Athens, where he cabled his paper.*

ATHENS, GREECE

FOR ALMOST A WEEK I have been struggling, pleading, fighting to get even a little of the truth out of Istanbul—the truth of a night of terror in which 20,000 men tore the heart out of 100,000 Greeks, Armenians and Jews in an orgy that has stunned the city, smashed 2,000 shops, destroyed capital goods worth over $300,000 and left 100,000 people jobless. . . .

Every one of my cables was censored, held up indefinitely, largely because the Government is saying the riots were a Communist plot and I insisted that the Communists were not behind it at all. . . .

A DESECRATED AVENUE: Two thousand of the rioters are now in jail, and so are 97 leaders of the now-disbanded "Cyprus Is Turkish Assn." But nothing—not even the machine-guns at every corner and the bayonets every 20 yards—can undo the misery that has descended on more than 100,000 people.

I arrived in Istanbul at two o'clock last Thursday morning to a scene worse than anything I saw in the blitz. . . . I drove across the Golden Horn, past the minarets. Then I came to the pride of Istanbul, her main street, the famous Avenue of Independence—over a mile long but now with hardly a score of shops intact.

At first I slithered in a sea of half-congealed oil, where the vandals had smashed into one of Istanbul's greatest grocery stores, smashed the fixtures, burned the food, and systematically opened every single tin of olive oil in the place and tipped the contents into the streets. . . .

"A TERRIBLE RECORD": Across the street was a neat mound of hundreds of tins of meat, each one pierced with a pick to make it uneatable. . . .

These past few days I have compiled a stern and terrible record. . . . Firstly I went to the funeral at Chichli Cemetery of an old woman who had been battered to death in her bed. I could not believe what I saw. Every tombstone had been uprooted and smashed, every mausoleum pried open, the contents of every coffin spilled into the streets, where still they lay.

Bulldozers could not have done a more thorough job. In the church itself the crosses had been torn down, the altar had been desecrated. . . . The Church of Yedikoule was utterly smashed and one priest was dragged from bed, the hair torn from his head. and his beard torn from his chin.

WHO DIRECTED IT? All the evidence points to an exact, perfectly coordinated attack. The flame that swept the city was ignited at a hundred different points—at precisely the same zero hour.

In a swift attempt to appease the outraged world, the Turks have laid the blame squarely on the Communists, insisting that the night of terror was a carefully organized Communist plot aimed at weakening the Western Alliance of NATO. There is not an atom of truth in this.

The Turkish Government certainly did not expect the riots to be so widespread and so disastrous, but most of the blame can be laid directly at their door because it was abundantly clear that there might be trouble and they took no real steps to prevent it.

The Nixon story

(Continued from Page 1)

ing King Richard this year, began to prepare positions for a big push in 1956. The columnists returned to the attack. O'Donnell lugubriously listed the ripe ages of all prominent contenders and proudly exhibited Nixon's youthful 42. David Lawrence warned that the "stop Nixon" drive could "really break up the party." **U. S. News** (10/7) compared Nixon's bouncing health with Stevenson's record of "two kidney-stone operations and a bout with pneumonia."

In midweek Nixon's fellow Californian, Sen. Knowland, flew to Washington. He had no pressing business there since the Senate is not in session. It was plain he arrived to head off Nixon and quickly joined the chorus resisting any delegation of Presidential powers to the Vice-President.

By the week-end the move to stop Nixon in his home state gained further ground when California Gov. Goodwin J. Knight listed five Republican possibilities if Eisenhower were out of the running. Nixon was pointedly omitted; Knowland was included. Others were Gov. Herter of Mass., Gov. Stratton of Ill., Secy. of State Dulles, UN Ambassador Lodge. Gov. Knight explained his omission of Chief Justice Warren on grounds that he took at face value his repeated refusals to leave the Supreme Court. Knight's omission of himself from the list was attributed to the natural diffidence of a likely candidate so early in the campaign. (The **AP** reported that on being questioned about Nixon's omission, Knight agreed that his name should be added, but the effect of the oversight was no less telling.)

Gov. Knight will probably head the 72-member California delegation to the GOP convention next year and is therefore a formidable opponent of Nixon's. His antagonism is reportedly based on personal affronts which the Vice-President seems to have distributed freely throughout his home state. Knight came in as a right-wing Republican to counter the "left" leanings of his predecessor, Earl Warren. Since then he has taken Warren's position as a "liberal" Republican and boasts official AFL support. He assails Nixon as representing the "right, right rigor mortis Republicans." The Anti-Nixon Republicans in California last week quoted Democrat Pennsylvania Gov. Leader:

> "To defeat a Richard Nixon for President would be like taking candy from a baby's hot, sticky little hands."

ANOTHER SLAP: Despite the opposition it was inevitable that as long as Richard Nixon was left in charge of things in Washington the voters would get used to thinking of him as the "acting President." That was finessed when Presidential Asst. Sherman Adams, sometimes called the Asst. President, went to Denver and set up shop, thereby demonstrating that the executive power did not rest with Nixon even on a temporary basis. The President signed two documents on reappointment of Foreign Service officers to underline his continuing command. The **AP** (9/30) reported:

> "There are even those who speculate that the President will not take kindly, once he has been given a fill-in on Washington maneuvers of the past few days, to the celerity with which some people in his Administration explored ways of delegating Presidential authority to others."

If Nixon loses the Eisenhower nod on top of his home state's loyalty, the effect may be fatal; and even though Nixon has made no visible efforts in his own behalf, the President, as briefed by Sherman Adams, may be less enthusiastic about him in the future. Directing the stop-Nixon drive in the capital is a triumvirate: Brownell, Adams and Humphrey. Robert G. Spivack in the N. Y. **Post** (9/28) reported that Nixon

> ". . . will not be allowed to make any big decisions, if any are to be made. Humphrey, Brownell and Adams will attend to those and Nixon knows it."

SIX OF ONE . . . : To the American voter the prospect of Nixon in the White House was unnerving. He had blue-printed the McCarran Internal Security Act with his Mundt-Nixon Bill, joined in drafting Taft-Hartley, master-minded Whittaker Chambers' pumpkin papers, favored extending the Korean War and A-bombing Asia, was a leading witch-hunter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has scarcely been known to cast a decent vote. On the other hand the triumvirate that has stopped him is hardly more promising.

Brownell is Thomas Dewey's campaign manager who, some think, is master-minding a Dewey come-back in 1956. Under him the Dept. of Justice has led the greatest assault on civil liberties in the country's history. Sherman Adams, former Gov. of New Hampshire and before that a Congressman, voted to make the Un-American Activities Committee permanent, fought to exempt the railroads from anti-trust laws, opposed price controls and sought to water down the Office of Price Administration with "reasonable profits" clauses for business. Secy. of the Treasury Humphrey, prime example of the Cadillac cabinet, has been called the "nearest thing to Andrew Mellon since Mellon himself ran the Treasury." He was chairman of seven powerful corporations, president of three, on the board of directors of 34 before his appointment.

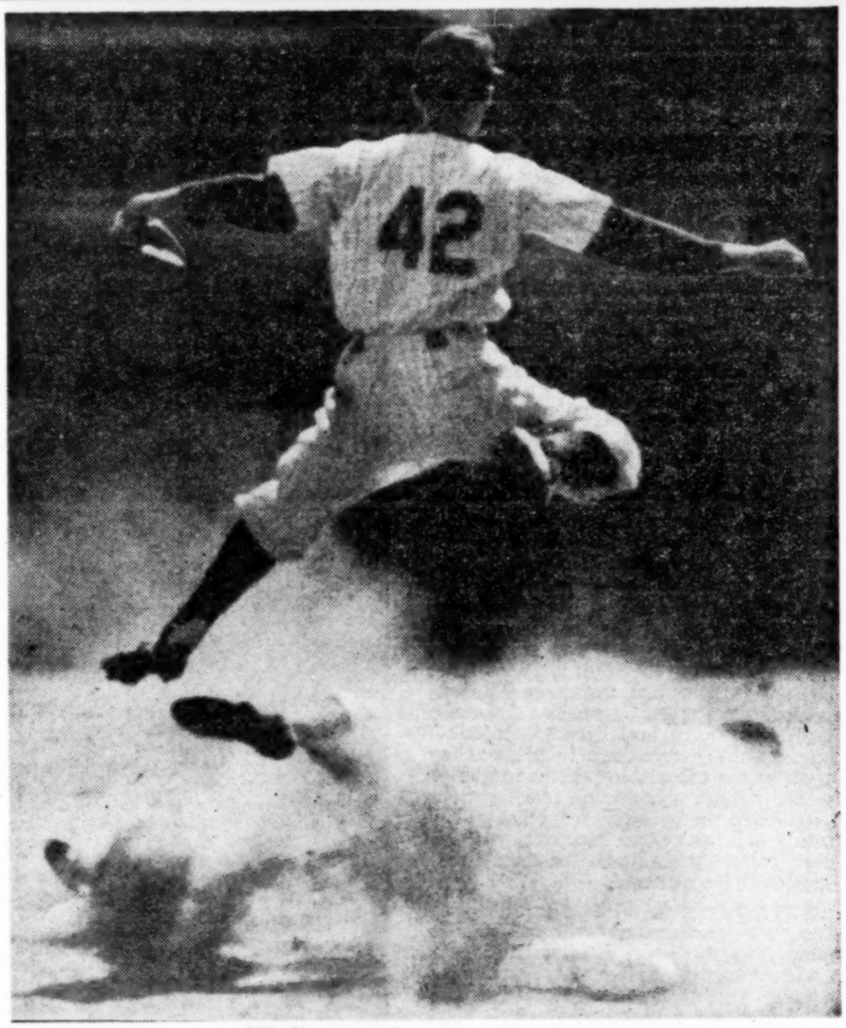
The GOP was plainly worried. Columnist Drew Pearson reported a recent exchange with Natl. Committee Chairman Len Hall who, when asked what would happen if Eisenhower didn't run, replied: "Then I'll commit suicide."

DEMOCRATS GET IN ACT: The Democrats gloated quietly while sending prayerful telegrams to Denver, and admitted that the prospects were rosier with Eisenhower out of the running. Each candidate saw in the development some good news for his own campaign. Stevenson partisans argued that their man would not be handicapped now by running against the man who licked him. Harriman backers felt that the field was opened to favorite sons who would take their own states away from the Stevenson bandwagon. Harry Truman was said to be in command of that strategem, lining up the states behind lesser candidates who could pave the way for a Harriman sweep.

At a conference at Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson's Texas ranch, Johnson, Stevenson and House Speaker Sam Rayburn indicated that the Democrats would take the line that they were the only rightful heirs to the Eisenhower mantle. Rayburn said:

> "The Democrats have never hated Mr. Eisenhower. We never will. We just aren't built that way."

No longer faced with the need of whittling down Eisenhower's reported popularity, the Democratic strategy would be to glorify him, denounce the GOP. In the scrimmage of politicians the people had one concern: how to keep alive the only spark lit during the Eisenhower years — the Geneva spirit.



Well, you know who won

But did you see the N. Y. Yankees' high-flying Jerry Coleman reach for the sky to complete a double play in the second game of the World Series?

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Seats available in Chicago for Gilels & Oistrakh concerts

CHOICE SEATS are still available from the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship for the recital in Orchestra Hall by Soviet pianist Emil Gilels, Friday eve., Oct. 21.

Main floor seats are $5, front balcony $4, rear balcony $3, and gallery $2. It was suggested by the Council that ticket purchasers, if possible, add a contribution to maintain the Council's work in cultural exchange. Council offices are at 189 W. Madison St. Phone, AN 3-1878. All orders must be accompanied by full payment.

Gilels' performance, the first in many years by a leading Soviet artist here, will be followed in November by that of David Oistrakh, one of the world's top violinists. Oistrakh tickets are the same prices.

DR. HUTCHINS REPLIES TO ATTACKS

The one American political dogma: Discussion is road to progress

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, a $15,000,000 foundation set up by the Ford Foundation and headed by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago, is now under violent attack. Leading the attack are the American Legion and others, including Fulton Lewis Jr., Walter Winchell and David Lawrence, N.Y. **Herald Tribune** columnist and publisher of **U.S. News and World Report.**

The reason: the Fund for the Republic has been carrying out the assignment given to it by the Ford Foundation "to support activities directed toward elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

Two reports have been produced seriously challenging the government's security system in civil service, industry and the military (GUARDIAN, 9/16); a report is in preparation on the entertainment industry blacklist; the liberal cartooning of artist Herbert L. Block ("Herblock") is scheduled for a TV program sponsored by the Fund. Many other projects are in the works, all intended, in Dr. Hutchins' words, "to defend the American principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."

The attack on the Fund echoes the Congressional attack on tax-exempt foundations, initiated in 1952 by the late Rep. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.) and carried on in the succeeding Congress by Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.). All the great foundations, including Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, 20th Century Fund, Guggenheim, Heckscher, Rosenwald, Field and several set up by leading newspapers, were charged with supporting "socialist" trends and with being Communist-infiltrated, on the word of paid informer Louis Budenz.

Late last month Dr. Hutchins aimed a thorough-going answer at the critics of foundations in an address to the American College of Hospital Administrators. Following are excerpts:

MOST FOUNDATIONS, unlike the Fund for the Republic, have very general purposes, such as the welfare of mankind. The decision as to what expenditures will promote the real welfare of mankind is so difficult, it involves such a tremendous intellectual effort, which at best can result only in a guess, that a natural desire is to give nearly everybody something for nearly everything in the hope that some interesting entries will emerge for the annual report. . . .

Since the clouds of suspicion and fear have rolled in along with rising costs, those corporations not-for-profit which have to raise money, as all colleges and universities think they must, have felt constrained to propitiate those forces which have generated fear and suspicion or those persons and groups who have been influenced by it. Those corporations not-for-profit which do not have to raise money have felt constrained to merge innocuously into the environment by veering off from any activity or from any association that could be criticized. . . .

THINK WHAT HAS HAPPENED of late to the great American principle that a man is to be judged by what he does, not by what he thinks, not even by what he says, certainly not by what his relatives think or say or even by what they do, surely not by what his acquaintances or acquaintances of his acquaintances think, say, or do. . . .

The Supreme Court, producing five opinions in a six to two decision, has held that the First Amendment does not prevent Congress from narrowing the traditional limits of freedom of speech. The loyalty-security program of the government and the Attorney General's list have been usd to debar persons from public and private employment against whom nothing worse could be said than that they had associated with their mothers. Though the Fifth Amendment is simply another way of saying that the prosecution must prove its case by gathering evidence to sustain it, the use of the Amendment by one whose political views are in question is regarded as irrefutable justification of the charge.

What has happened to the great American principle that the chief qualification for a job is the ability to perform it? In almost no case that I can think of, from the Hollywood Ten to the teachers suspended in New York a few days ago, has it been suggested that the alleged political views of the individual had any effect upon his work. The question of competence is never raised.

THE OBJECT OF UNIVERSITIES, hospitals, and foundations is not the preservation of the status quo. It is the improvement of the conditions of human life and the clarification of its aims. A university that does not try to improve the educational system and the environment in which it operates, a hospital that does not try to improve medical practice, a foundation that is not dedicated to the welfare of man, is a failure. Yet universities, hospitals, and foundations that do these things must inevitably engage in criticism of existing practice, and if they do they must expect to be criticized in turn.

They will be "controversial." As Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr. has so well said, "Controversy is the lifeblood of American society." But such a statement usually turns out to have little meaning when a controversial person is in question. How often have we heard of people of undoubted loyalty like Bishop Oxnam and the American Civil Liberties Union being denied the privilege of speaking or meeting because they are controversial! How do you become controversial? By being attacked, and it makes no difference how innocent you are or how silly, stupid, or irresponsible the attack may be.

THE WINDS ARE SHIFTING . . . Mr. Truman would have been impeached if he had proposed that the Russians fly over our country and photograph our military installations. He had a bad time because he once said that he liked Old Joe; but his successor can correspond with Zhukov, and the Vice President feels free to say that one of the most important results of the Geneva conference was the establishment of friendly personal relations between the Russian leaders and the President of the U.S. As the wind blows today, those who believe that universities are centers of independent thought and that foundations are accumulations of venture capital dedicated to pioneering are doing fairly well. But irremediable harm was done to these conceptions in the last wind, because the timidity that it created lingers on.

And what about the next wind? The administrator ought to have a vision of the end that is clear and true regardless of meteorological conditions.

It is not merely inevitable that we are different and have different views; it is desirable that this should be so. From the clash of opinion truth emerges and the human race advances.

Hence the essence of Americanism is discussion. It is not name calling or suppression. It is certainly not dogma or prejudice. The only political dogma in America is that discussion is the road to progress, that every man is entitled to his own opinion, and that we have to learn to live with those whose opinions differ from our own. After all, they may turn out to be right.

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"MY BELIEFS ARE NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS"

Dr. Du Bois insists State Dept. give him passport

Early last June, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, distinguished American historian and scholar, a Fellow of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, received an invitation to Poland. It came from the organizers of World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, scheduled for Warsaw July 31–Aug. 14. The letter to Dr. Du Bois (he will be 88 in February) said in part:

"As you know, it is expected that 30,000 young people, from over 100 countries, will come together at this Festival to express their desire to live side by side with one another in peace and friendship.

"It would be a great honor for us, and a source of tremendous encouragement and inspiration to young people everywhere, if you were able to be with us in Warsaw, and we sincerely hope that you will be able to take advantage of our invitation. Your activities for peace and human brotherhood are known and admired by young people in all countries.

"We look forward to receiving your reply at the earliest possible moment."

* * * *

On June 7 Dr. Du Bois applied for a passport. He has held American passports since 1892, but has been denied one since January, 1952. On July 2 he received a communication from Frances G. Knight, director of the Passport Office of the State Dept., dated July 1. Following are excerpts from Mrs. Knight's letter:

"I regret to inform you that after careful consideration of your application for passport facilities, the Department of State is obliged to disapprove your request tentatively on the ground that the granting of such passport facilities is precluded under the provisions of Section 51.135 of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations. . . .

"In your case the Department has concluded that your case falls within the scope of Sections (a) and (c) of the aforementioned Regulations since it is alleged that you are a Communist and as the Congress which you wish to attend is Communist inspired.

"Under Section 51.137 of the Regulations you may present your case and all relevant information informally to the Passport Office. If you desire to take advantage of this provision you may appear before a hearing officer of the Passport Office and you may be represented by counsel. In such case, you will be required to submit a sworn statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

"If you do not desire a hearing, the Department will give consideration to any written statement under oath which you may desire to submit concerning the matter, provided that you include therein a statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

"If a reply to this letter is not received within 30 days, it will be assumed that you do not wish to have your case reconsidered at this time."

* * * *

On July 13, Dr. Du Bois sent this letter to Mrs. Knight:

"I regard the reasons which you give as both illegal and personally insulting. For 60 years I have held passports from the United States, beginning with Passport No. 42015, issued June 24, 1892, by the Acting Secretary of State, William F. Wharton. With these passports I have made 13 trips to Europe and visits to Asia, Africa and the West Indies. During this time I have never been accused of crime and have received recognition of many kinds, including the rank of United States Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Republic of Liberia.

FIGHTERS BOTH
Dr. Du Bois with the late Vito Marcantonio

"My continued and continuing advocacy of world peace once brought the demand that I register as a Foreign Agent. I refused, was indicted and acquitted by a Federal Court.

"The regulations of your department which you adduce are not statute law, but represent the effort of the State Department to arrogate to itself the judicial right to inquire into and judge my political beliefs and opinions. This is an unconstitutional assumption of power. As a free American citizen, I maintain that it is none of your business what I believe or think so long as I transgress no law. Nor will I be intimidated by secret "allegations" of unnamed informers which have no stature in law.

"I therefore absolutely refuse to sign or submit to you or anyone else any affidavit concerning my beliefs nor have you any right to decide what lawful assemblies I shall attend or whose voices I shall listen to.

"I therefore repeat my demand for a passport, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, the laws of the land and the decision of the courts. Further refusal will confirm my conclusion that you are resting your hope for continued illegal procedures on the cost of litigation which you assume only the rich can afford."

* * * *

Late in July, shortly before the Festival was to open, Dr. Du Bois received from Mrs. Knight a reply to his letter. There was no date on the Knight letter. It said:

"The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 13, in regard to your passport case. The matter is being given careful consideration and you will be advised as soon as a decision is reached."

* * * *

In response to this letter, which ignored Dr. Du Bois' indictment of the Passport Office, Dr. Du Bois wrote on Sept. 8:

"Referring to your letter without date, may I say that in my application for a passport, June 7, 1955, I asked to attend the World Festival of Youth in Warsaw, July 31 to Aug. 14, 1955; and also to visit Czechoslovakia and other countries for reasons of health and recreation.

"You have delayed decision on my passport until the World Festival with 30,000 youth from 114 nations is over. This was, I assume, deliberate on your part. Nevertheless, I write to say that my application for a passport still stands and I wish to repeat my application to visit Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France and England for health and recreation. My wife wishes to accompany me. In accord with your letter of mid-July without date, may I ask for a decision in my case as soon as possible."

* * * *

There the matter stood at presstime: Mrs. Knight had not yet replied. As in the case of Paul Robeson, the State Dept. has raised a wall to contain our country's noblest cultural figure at a time when the President of the United States has been pleading with socialist nations to improve cultural relations between East and West .

And the world looks on.

OPEN TO PUBLIC

Lawyers Guild parley in N. Y. Oct. 15

A NATIONAL conference on loyalty-security and the law will be held Sat., Oct. 15, at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel, New York, auspices of the National Lawyers Guild. Osmond K. Fraenkel, chairman of the Guild's committee on constitutional rights and liberties, will preside.

The impact of the loyalty-security program in four areas will be discussed in successive panels beginning at 10 a.m. The panels and speakers:

- Government employ and armed services—Walter Millis, Fund for the Republic; Stanley Faulkner and David I. Shapiro, civil liberties lawyers.
- Private employment — Howard S. Whiteside, Mass. Civil Liberties Union; Henry Mayer, labor lawyer.
- Foreign-born — immigration lawyers Blanch Freedman and Harry I. Rand.
- Practice of law—Thomas I. Emerson, Yale Law School.

Public participation is invited. Registration $1 per session (morning or afternoon), $2 all day. Call or write Lawyers Guild, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N. Y., tel.: HAnover 2-5970.

Dispel the fog

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.

To too many American progressives the history of China from the Opium Wars of the 1840's to Chiang Kai-shek's massacre of the communists at Shanghai in 1927 is a vague blur, on which float faint images of Taipings, Boxers, the Empress and Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

To dispel this fog, the Foreign Languages Press in Peking has just published an English edition of **Imperialism and Chinese Politics**, by Dr. Hu Sheng, a compact, readable history of Chinese foreign relations from 1840 to 1925. The gradual development of foreign aggression into foreign control, until China became virtually a colony of the Western powers, was accompanied by a long series of resistance movements organized by the workers and peasants, of which the Taiping and Boxer rebellions were the best known, the former preaching Christianity in opposition to the tyranny of the landlords, the latter denouncing Christianity as a tool of imperialist aggression.

Dr. Sheng analyzes the various reform movements in China, the leaders and misleaders, the strikes and boycotts, by which the people responded to Western corruption and bayonets. Eighty years of struggle preceded the outbreak of the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1925. Some knowledge of this background, as well as of the looting of China by the West, is essential to understanding developments in China today.

Hugh Hardyman

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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7. Editor, Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Managing Editor, James Aronson, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 33,847.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of Sept., 1955.

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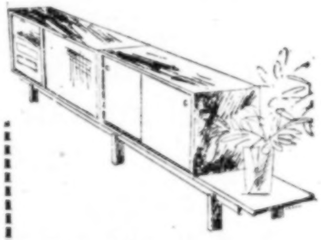

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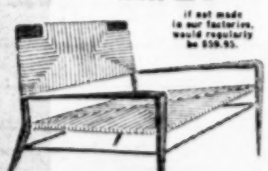

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ONE-WIPE DUST CLOTH—Cleans, polishes, picks up dust with one wipe, greaseless, odorless, lintless. Cloth can be washed up to 20 times. .... 2 cloths for $1.35 ppd.

LAUNDRY MARKING pen, quick-drying, odorless, black indelible ink. .... $1.15; refill 50c.

NOW! Breeze through daily cleaning in minute-quick time!

NEW REGINA *Electrikbroom*

The only vacuum cleaner designed for daily use!

- Weighs only 6¾ pounds!
- Unique *swivel-action* nozzle means maximum cleaning efficiency!
- Does the work of upholstery brush, dust mop, carpet sweeper, broom — *without attachments!*
- Sucks up lint, dirt, thread, sand!
- Gets right under furniture! Won't mar woodwork!
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the SPECTATOR

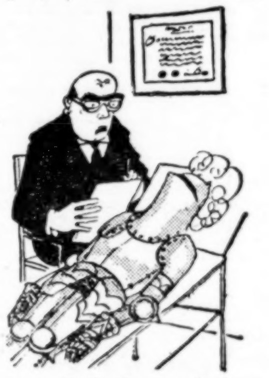
New Look in Peking

By Lucy Vey
Special to the GUARDIAN

PEKING, CHINA

THE CHINESE PEOPLE, who used to be called pityingly "a loose sheet of sand," can now with justifiable pride look at the degree of organization they have achieved just half way through their First Five-Year Plan. Over 60% of all peasant households, the bedrock of Chinese society, are enrolled in mutual-aid teams or higher forms of co-operative labor; 10,000,000 households belong to agricultural producers' co-operatives. Industrial organization is drawing more and more people into its [illegible] as China lays the foundation for her own heavy industry, as railways open up the vast hinterland, as water conservation projects combine to banish the recurrence of natural calamities forever.

Organization also looks after the people's daily needs. State purchase of grain and cotton at fair prices ensures a fair share of staple foods and cloth for everyone. Marketing and supply co-operatives eliminate speculating middlemen. Consumers' co-operatives are increasingly becoming the retailers both in the cities and in the countryside. Neighborhood committees do social work on a broad scale.



Daily Express, London

"And when did your Grace first become convinced that you had incurred the hatred of your peasants?"

PROFITEERS ARE OUT: Medical services, educational and cultural facilities are the rights of every worker, and are well organized, especially for the workers on capital construction sites. Joint ownership by state and private enterprise is another organizational form that serves production, ranging from banks through industrial establishments down to dairies and delicatessen stores.

What does all this organization add up to? It adds up to the fact that profiteering is out, that the many do not work for the benefit of the few. It does not mean that the individual producer on the land, the private merchant and industrialist have been driven out or physically liquidated. It does mean that under a people's government co-operation, the collective form of production, has been found to be much more rewarding. Strongest emphasis is repeatedly made against the use of force. Gentle persuasion and the example of the group succeeding better than the individual are more powerful.

A Chinese manufacturer of rugs and blankets was asked by an anxious visitor from the West how he felt about eventually being eliminated as a private entrepreneur. Said he:

> "I have a villa and a car now. When my factories are taken over completely by the state instead of being jointly owned as they are now, I'll still be kept on as manager, with the same if not greater emoluments. . . . My oldest son is professor of chemistry, my big daughter teaches music. They can take care of themselves. My two younger children who are still in school are Youth League members and would disown me if I tried to put any shares in their names. What should I amass private wealth for?"

ORGANIZED PEDDLER: The average person's attitude toward organization and industrialization is illustrated by these personal experiences:

- One day, as I was bringing my small son home from nursery school, we stopped to watch an artisan making door-screens out of reeds and string, somewhat in the manner of the old craft of lace-making in Europe. Admiring the dexterity with which the shuttles flew back and forth in his hands, I drew only a loud guffaw from him: "Hoho, what do you want to watch my backward handicraft for? Wait till I can do this on a machine, then I'll be worth watching"

- An old bearded street peddler was selling baskets of various sizes and colors for which I am a sucker. When I asked the price he thought it necessary to add, as a sales-talk, that he came from a co-operative store. My rather dubious "Oh yeah?" he demolished with a firm "We have organization now." And indeed, a few days later, an editorial in the **People's Daily** stressed the importance of making peddlers the distributing agents of co-operative stores. So the old venerable must have been an early bird!

In China today organization, co-operation, the collective draw people like a magnet out of poverty and backwardness, out of past inability to cope with the forces of nature and oppressive man, into a richer life where they can work and live together in harmony and peace.

Folksingers prepare a new cantata

THE JEWISH YOUNG FOLKSINGERS last week began rehearsals of **August Bondy**, a new cantata by Serge Hovey, to a text by Aaron Kramer. The work is scheduled for a premiere in December.

Under the direction of Robert De Cormier the chorus will rehearse every Thursday evening throughout the season at Malin Studios, 225 W. 46th St, N. Y. C., and welcomes friends and new applicants. Starting time is 7:30 p.m.